

ALLEGIANCE VINDICATED:

• O R,
The T A K E R S
O F T H E
New OATH of ALLEGIANCE
T O

K. William & Q. Mary

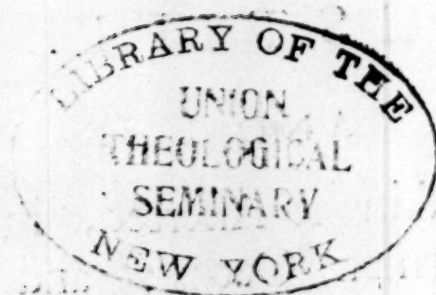
J U S T I F I E D :

A N D T H E
Lawfulness of taking it Asserted, in its Consistency
with our former Oaths; and also with the
Doctrin of the Reformed Church of *England*,

C O N C E R N I N G
N O N - R E S I S T A N C E & P A S S I V E O B E D I E N C E.

By a Divine of the Church of England.

L O N D O N,
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The Takers of the new Oath of Allegiance to King William and Queen Mary vindicated: and the Lawfulness of taking it asserted, in its consistency with our former Oaths; and also with the Doctrine of the Reformed Church of England concerning Non-resistance and Passive Obedience.

IT appears sufficiently by this Time, (I suppose,) upon *Record*, that the generality of the Reverend, Learned, and Pious *Clergy* of this Church have actually taken the *Oath* in Dispute: and their *Books* every where extant declare, that divers of them have written Learnedly in Defence of themselves and their Brethren so doing: and have not been wanting in their utmost endeavours to satisfy those of them who yet refuse, by offering them all the Arguments they could think of, for it; and turning every Stone under which they could imagine any considerable objection against it to lie concealed, in order to the giving it a satisfactory Solution.

They have, to this purpose, unravelled all the *Principles of Government*, and searched into the Reason of them all, even from *Adam*, downwards; they have, particularly, with great industry, sifted the *Legal Constitution* of the *English Monarchy*, and the History of all its *Monarchs*, to evidence the *Original Contract*, upon which it is asserted, that our Government is founded; they have endeavoured to evince the *late King* to have been a kind of *Felo de se*, (as to his Title thereunto,) by voluntary *Abdicating* the *Throne*; to which divers Authors also have added his *Legal Forfeiture*, (as they suppose,) by breaking the *Original Contract* before-mentioned: they have fortified the Claim and Title of our *present Sovereigns*, by justifying the *late Dutch Invasion*, together with the rising of the *English Nobility*, and their adherents, in the circumstances wherein we then

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were,

were, to assist it; they have pleaded the *Right of Conquest* consequent thereupon, if their *Present Majesties* had thought fit to fix their Throne on that foundation; and (that being waved by them, who have rather chosen to adventure themselves upon the *favour* of the Nation Assembled in *Parliament*,) they have asserted the *Legality* of the *present Parliament*, for *substance*, although wanting the usual *circumstances* of *Summons*, &c. (which in the present conjuncture could not be had,) to constitute them in all points formally such; and (by Consequence) have inferred the *validity* of those *Acts* for the *settlement* of the *Throne*, which they have made; and thereby, not only justified the *matter* of this *Oath*, but also, the *Authority* by which it is imposed: and lastly, they have (by strong Evidence to that Point, at least, if all other grounds should fail,) made out the *lawfulness* (if not *necessary Duty*) of paying our *Actual Obedience* to their *Majesties*, as *actually possessed* of the *Government*.

And yet (notwithstanding all these Endeavours of theirs,) it appears also, that divers of the *Sacred Function* (and some of them of the *highest Character*, and *Station* in this Church,) have, rather than to comply with the rest in taking this *Oath*, already incurred the Penalty of *Suspension* from, and seem inclined yet farther to hazard the being totally *deprived* (which is the Penalty to which Refusers are shortly endangered) of their *Places* and *Employments*: which evidently declares, that all that hath been said upon that subject yet, hath not been prevalent enough for their plenary satisfaction.

The consideration whereof, I must confess, may very well discourage any Person who hath but modesty enough to take a just measure of himself (in comparison with those who have Written before so accurately on this Argument, as to leave little for any that comes after them to add thereunto) from attempting any thing farther of that kind; and had certainly had that effect upon my self, had I not found it necessary, in a sort, (upon the account of the *uncharitable carriage* of divers Persons, who, though it may be, they have not so much as looked into any of the Books before-mentioned to understand the Reasons moving us thereto, have made it much of their business to censure and condemn both my self, and so many of my *Reverend Fathers* and *Brethren* as have taken the said *Oath*,) to write a few Lines in *Justification*, (at least) of that which *we* have done: if not, also, to the *conviction* of *others*, who still stand out in their refusal, and the inducing of them to do the same yet, before the approaching expiration of the *Term* by the *Act* allowed, and the securing themselves in those *Stations*, wherein they may still continue service-

serviceable to this Church ; to which divers of them, (as all must acknowledge) have hitherto been, both a *Defence* by their learned *Pens*, and an *ornament* by their *personal Qualifications*.

I am sensible (I must needs say) by Experience, that with the *Affertors* of some *rigorous Principles of Loyalty*, all the Arguments urged from the Topicks before-mentioned, except those of the *last* sort, are of no consideration at all : and that even *those*, (although they find from them some fairer Quarter then the rest, in *Thesi*, or in general, yet) in the *present Case*, are judged insufficient and unconvincing. And this, because they are strongly possessed with a persuasion, that their *former Allegiance* is a thing of an everlasting permanent Obligation, and in no sort or degree, upon any emergency, to be transferred from a *Prince* however *dispossessed*, (as one, who hath a *Title*, neither *forfeitable* by any *miscarriage*, nor *voidable* by any *cession* or *departure*) unto any other, so long as he lives, and is not pleased expressly to release it : and adhere to the Doctrines of *Non-resistance* and *Passive Obedience*, (as they judge them taught by the Church of *England*) to such a Degree, as to pronounce them utterly inconsistent with the *Allegiance* in this *Oath* required. So that, when we have to do with Men of that strain, it is necessary that we wave all those *former Heads* of Arguments above-mentioned ; and cast the whole stress of this Dispute upon the last, in the Issue of this single *Question*, viz.

[*Whether, (with the saving of those Principles of theirs, be they sound or not) a Man that professeth Loyalty in its utmost rigours, may not yet be at liberty, in the present circumstances, to take the Oath required to K. W. and Q. M. as actual Possessors of the Throne ?*]

To this, therefore, I resolve in this Discourse, to confine my self; endeavouring to prove the *Affirmative*, and answer all visible *Objections* to the contrary, in the making good the *Propositions* following. The first whereof, is this,

I. [*That in all Places, every one that is by Law in the condition of a Subject owes a Legal Obedience (which I take to be no other then Allegiance) to some supreme Powers ; and to some Person or Persons by whom it is exercised.*] Subjection, from Subjects, is always due somewhere, under what Form of Government soever Men be, by the Law of Nature, (according to the Reverend Dr. Sanderson :) and that, (primarily) to every Mans Country, and consequently, to the Sovereign Power thereof. For the denial of this, does evidently involve a contradiction ; as that which supposeth the same Person, at the same time, a Subject, and yet no Subject :

Sanderson's
Case of the
Engagement

a *Subject*, as being under the *Laws*; and yet *no Subject*, as being discharged from that *Duty* which those *Laws* enjoyn. Yea, more, it virtually dissolves (while it is denied) that *Society* (in the tendency thereof) which is established upon, and maintained by those *Laws*. For the Obligation of the Law at any time dissolved, leaves every Man (so long as things continue in that posture) *sui juris*, in the equality of Nature; so that he may challenge, without restraint, the liberty of *doing what is good in his own Eyes*.

I' *That this Legal Obedience, or Allegiance, cannot in the present juncture, be actually paid to King James, and therefore the Obligation of it so far ceaseth, as to its actual performance to him, as he is in an actual incapacity to demand, or we to give it; how due soever (according to the Principles mentioned) it may be thought to be.* This Notion here asserted, of the *Cessation of actual Obedience*, (though promised by an Oath) I take to be (as to its possibility) agreeable to the Determination of the learned Dr. *Sanderson*, in his famous Book, *De Obligatione Juramenti*; who therein pronounceth a promissory Oath (as to its Obligation to Performance) to cease, *per cessationem materiae*, when the matter of it ceaseth. Now, the *matter of an Oath Promissory* then ceaseth, when that which is promised, is not payable; which may happen, either by its becoming either naturally or morally impossible.

As for instance, when the *Person* to whom the *Promise* is made, ceaseth to be in a capacity to demand or receive what was so promised. This (I suppose) may fall out; either *totally*, as (in one of the Doctors own Instances) it does, when the *General of an Army*, to whom a Soldier is obliged by a *Military Oath* is dead. Then, it is *cassated*, or made totally void. Or, *partially*, as (to keep to the former instance) when the *General* so sworn to, though he be yet alive, is notwithstanding in such circumstances as render him, for the time, *as dead*; which may happen, by his being *taken Prisoner*, and shut up so close, as that the Soldier can receive no certain Commands from him. I could here also (if I may without offence) add *another Case* (which, whether it dissolve such an Obligation *totally*, or *partially* only, let who will determine) to wit, When such a *General* voluntarily *deserts his Army*; and especially if he do so, to *joyn* himself with their Enemies; so that he cannot in those circumstances be obeyed by the Party he hath deserted, without the Breach of an *higher Obligation* to him, or them, from, or for whom he received his Commission. Now I am very much mistaken if *one* of these Cases run not parallel with *ours*, in the *Allegiance* promised to *King James*. For, plain it is, *de facto*, that we can, in his present circumstances

cumstances, have no *Communication* with him, nor receive any certain *Commands* from him, how willing soever we might be to serve him; being (whether by choice or necessity, I determin not here) wholly in the power of our *Nations* and *Religions* professed Enemies; without maintaining that dangerous *Intelligence* which he himself cannot in reason require; and which, I hope, our most *dissatisfied Brethren* do not think that *Allegiance* obligeth us at this *time*, to keep with him. And I could wish that the *later Case* propounded, did not also run *too parallel* with ours, *i.e.* That he had not embodied himself with the sworn Adversaries of our Religion (as to his Communion) as he hath long since; and yet, notwithstanding that, we paid him our true Allegiance always whiles he stayed among us, which he himself hath more than once acknowledged. And much more, that he had not now at last also, not only *deserted* us, but likewise armed against us those of that Party who most thirst after our Blood; and thereby rendred it farther impossible for any *Englishmen* (especially *Protestants*) to pay him that further Duty which the Oath of Allegiance expresseth by *Assistance* and *Defence*; which they cannot do (according to the preceding Hypothesis) without breaking their greater *antecedent Obligations* to God, their *Native Country*, *themselves* and their *Posterity*; in consistence wherewith, all subsequent Obligations must be interpreted, to render them lawful: For, otherwise, the Rule is *Prior obligatio præjudicat posteriori*.

To clear up this *Proposition* the more fully; let us spend a little time in enquiring particularly into those *Acts of Allegiance*, which may by any one be supposed to be due to *King James* in his present circumstances; and see, whether any of them be rationally performable to him, by the *English Clergy* particularly, to whose Case this Discourse is chiefly accommodated.

The *main Duty* of our former *Allegiance* is contain'd in the Words of *Assistance*, and *Defence*, as was before said. This is done, either by *Arms*; or *otherwise*; to wit, by actions more proper to our Function. As to the *former*; I suppose no Man of that Calling will think himself obliged personally to bear Arms for him. For an entire freedom herein was always allowed us by the Law, which excuseth all *Persons in Holy Orders* from being required to do so in any case. So that whatever is at any time done, of that nature, by any of them, must needs be, in this case, not a matter of Duty, but a meer *Supererogation of Loyalty*, a perfectly voluntary and free-will Offering. It would be no other, even to a *Prince* that had most highly *deserved* of us; and one, whom (in the prospect of the *Success* of his Arms)

we could *cordially trust* with all our dearest *Interests*. And therefore it is not to be supposed that any considering Person of that Order (how militarily disposed soever he may be otherwise) will think fit personally to give one, who surely hath not so *obliged* us, and the *Success* of whose Arms at present we cannot safely *Trust*, this sort of Assistance or Defence, though he should *call* for it; and much less to offer it when *unmasked*. For what were this indeed (as things now stand) but, but of an over-eager desire of shewing an *extravagant piece* of *Passive Obedience* to out-act the *Circumcellions* themselves; and assist barbarous *Irish Tories*, and *French Dragoons*, so as to enable them in the issue, to advance us to the too fondly affected Crown of an *unwarrantable Martyrdom*?

Is it (in the next place) supposed by any, that [*Preaching and Praying for King James*] are *Duties* indispensably incumbent upon them, by vertue of their Allegiance? If so, I desire them to consider, that, supposing them *such*, yet they can be no otherwise such, than as all others are, that are so, by vertue of an *Affirmative Precept*, and so can be no otherwise obliging, (at least, as to the circumstances of their Actual Exercise) than as all things so commanded, are; and therefore do not bind us *ad semper*, (as the Schools speak) That is, they are not necessarily to be done at *all Times*, whatever the consequences of them may be; but the actual performance of them *thus* and *thus*, and at *this* or *that* season, is to be governed by circumstances; and where those are such, that the *mischief* that will probably be done, is greater than the *good* that is likely to be consequent on so doing; 'tis then *unlawful* to do them, because *unseasonable*. This in general. But let us further view them *particularly*.

1. As to [*Preaching for K. J.*] If *Preaching up his present Cause*, be meant thereby; and declaring all those that are in Arms against him for their own Defence in *Ireland*, together with the *English Forces* sent hence to assist them, *Rebels*, and incurring the penalty of *Damnation* for such *Resistance*; it is to make our selves *Judges* of a *War*, which we can never hope convincingly to prove unlawful, except upon the supposition of an *unlimited Right* in the *Prince* to dispose universally of his Subjects, as to *Religion*, *Laws*, *Liberties* and *Lives*, as he pleaseth; and the Duty of all that are within his Dominions tamely to suffer them all to be taken from them, upon the Obligation of the Doctrine of *Non-resistance*. And what can we hope for upon the preaching of this Doctrine (be it never so true) at this time of Day, under such *universal Prejudice* against it, that can rationally make amends for the Inconveniences necessarily attendant upon

upon it; not only to *our Persons*, from the Laws in being which (under the highest Penalties) forbid us so to do; but also, to the *whole Nation*, if our Doctrine should (contrary to all rational probability) be entertained by any considerable numbers. For what could the Issue then be, but the raising of a bloody *Civil War*, in the bowels of it; and that *War*, (if it should end in a *Conquest* on the side which by such Preaching we assist,) consequentially destructive to all those dear Enjoyments, which, as we are *Christians* and *English-men*, are now secured to us under the Protection of the *present Constitution*, and the *Forces* raised by it? Besides, that it would be a very difficult thing for us, upon clear grounds, to determine the lawfulness or unlawfulness of a War, the Justice whereof depends on so many *Intrigues* of *Circumstances*, in the *first Original* of it (whence our measures must be taken) which Men of our Profession cannot be thoroughly acquainted with the Truth or Falshood of. For which of us can demonstratively make out, against all contradiction, the *Legitimacy* of the P. of W. (though any of us in our own Judgments possibly might incline to that opinion, as I believe most of us once did, when he was so declared by the publick Authority then in being, and therefore, according to the direction of the Law in that case, we inserted his Name, or Title at least, in the publick Liturgy: (which yet we must be able to do, if we will undertake to condemn the *invasion* of his *now-Majesty* (then, *Prince of Orange*) to preserve the Right his *Princess* had to the succession, who (if the Child were Illegitimate, or Supposititious) was the *next* in the *Royal Line* to whom it did belong) as unlawful? I speak this, only to shew, how unmeet it is for us, in the Pulpit, to ground Doctrines of such great importance to Salvation or Damnation to our People, upon supposal of such things which we cannot *Infallibly* know to be *true*; or such, which (as to matter of *Fact*) our People (not one it may be, to a thousand, dissenting) will tell us to our teeth, as soon as we come out of the Pulpit, they never did, nor can believe. And undoubtedly our caution, in things of this nature, is not disallowed, but rather encouraged, and directed by our *Saviours* Example; who, himself, in deciding a *Question* of *Conscience* in a Case that concerned *Caesar*, (by the very manner of delivering his Judgment therein) declared himself studiously cautious of giving offence on both sides: And though he determined it for the *Emperor*; yet, had we not an *Instance* of his own *practice*, to warrant the interpreting him that way, we could hardly gather it convincingly from his *words* alone. But, I suppose, I need not very earnestly press this Point upon our Brethren, who by their
practice

practice generally have shewn their Caution therein: and seem thereby to grant my Assertion, [*That preaching for K. J. in the present Circumstances is a piece of Allegiance, the obligation whereunto ceaseth,* qd e. d.

2. Next, as to [*Praying for him*] if it be a Duty, it is to be performed either in *private*, or *publick*, or *both*. And in both these, (supposing still, that [*for him*] imports [*for the success of his present Arms*] I doubt not, but to shew the *cessation* of this piece of Allegiance unto him too. For to do this in *publick*; it lies too much under the same inconveniences and disadvantages, (and much more so,) with the former [*of preaching for him,*] for any of us to look upon our selves, as obliged by Allegiance so to do. And, as to our *private Devotions*, although any of us should think it our Duty to *pray* for him in his *personal* circumstances, to wit, for Gods sanctifying his afflictions to him; his Conversion to the true Religion, and preservation of him from evil accidents; nay, suppose some one think it his Duty, to go farther, and pray for his Restitution it self: it contributes not much to the stating the Question in hand, whether such *private* sentiments (as to the *former* sorts) be determined to be branches of the *cessant* Duty to K. J. or no. But as to the *last*, (*his Restitution*) it will certainly deserve any *Protestants* serious consideration, whether in Conscience, he can satisfie himself, even in his *privatest Devotions*, to make his applications to Heaven, for the assisting a Person to return to his *former Estate*, whose *Interest*, and *Inclinations* too (except one could be certainly assured that he is become a true Convert, and so hath disclaimed them) are directly contrary to the *true Interest* of that *Religion*, which (of all in the World,) he is perswaded, that God whom he makes his Applications to, most approves and owns; and hath made it appear that he doth so, most remarkably of late, by so strange a concatenation of *Providential Intrigues* throughout all *Europe*, for the securing it, as hardly any Age can shew the like.

Wherefore, for any Christians of the *Protestant Profession*, (and especially of this *Nation*) to endeavour, though but by a secret wish, to obstruct the progress of those great Affairs, (which in the Prospect of their probable Issue, promise the whole Protestant Cause, and chiefly in these Parts, so fair) were in *all such*, in my Judgment, an high indication of a too *stupid insensibleness* of their *dearest concerns*: but in any of us a too vilible *implication* besides, of (that which is much worse) an *ungrateful longing* to return back again to that *Egyptian bondage*, from which the Lord by so many miracles

acles of mercy hath so lately delivered us. At least, it can certainly, be no part of our Duty, to deprecate the continuation of that actual security from *Romish Persecution*, which (whiles we our selves were bound up (by the influence of the Doctrines of *Non-resistance* and *Passive Obedience* upon our Consciences,) from giving the least assistance thereto) God alone by his mighty *Hand and out-stretched Arm* hath wrought for us.

And now, I hope, I may take it for granted, that I have satisfactorily established the verity of my *second Proposition*; both in the *general*, and also in all the *particulars* included in it: and therefore may proceed to the *next*.

III. The *third Proposition*, (which I think none will put me to prove, however, for the perfecting the train of consequences in this Discourse, it needs to be mentioned,) is this, [*This cessant Allegiance to the former King, there is none else that visibly claims, but K. W. and Q. M.*] They are *K. and Q. de facto*, and exercise all *Acts of Supremacy* without any visible opposition throughout this Nation. The *Forts* and the *Forces*, and the *Royal Revenues* of the whole Nation are wholly in their Hands. There is not, (in the Proverbial Phrase of Scripture) a *Dog that opens his Mouth* against them. The Protection we have, in our *Lives, Laws, Properties, Religions and Civil Liberties*, we receive from the Influences of their Government: And therefore (as a farther branch of this Proposition) it follows, [*that we are to pay it to them.*] For, surely, if [*Protectio trahit Allegiantiam,*] (the Maxime of the Lawyers) be true in any case, it must needs be so in this; whiles, especially, our Allegiance is at liberty (as to him, who only can have any Pretension to it else) by the force of the *first Proposition*.

IV. The *fourth Proposition* is this. [*The Allegiance which I may, (and much more, which I must) pay those to whom it is proved due by the preceding Propositions, they may oblige me to promise: and what I may be obliged to promise, I cannot rationally refuse to secure to them, if they demand it, by an Oath.*] This Proposition also, I think fit to mention, for (the Reason before-mentioned) the continuation of the thread of the Argument; but, I suppose, it likewise needs no Proof: it being a thing allowed in all humane conversation, as equitable to give such security as our word, at least, for all *Debts*; and that of an *Oath*, particularly, to those (*Superiours* especially) that will not take our *bare word*: and an *Oath for confirmation*, even the Scripture asserts to be the way to put an end to all strifes, which in cases of that nature may arise.

And now I have done with the *astructive* part of this Discourse, and affirmed both the *Justice* of the Claim of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, to our *Allegiance*, and our *Oath* to give them Assurance of it, in the present Circumstances: There remains therefore now, no more to be done, but the pursuance of the *destructive* part, or Demolishing the Strengths of our supposed Antagonists, by *answering* the *Objections* they do, or it may be conceived might make against my former Assertions. And this I shall endeavour by making good the *Six Propositions* following.

V. [*That whatever Right, according to their Principles, whom we have here to deal with, may yet remain to K. J. as to their Allegiance, is not by the Oath now required of them, disclaimed; nor that of their present Majesties asserted.*] Sure I am, it is not *expressly*, as appears by the words of it; there being nothing of *Title* or *Right*, the one, or the other way, mentioned therein. For the *naming* the Persons to whom it is Sworn, *King* and *Queen*, asserts only, the *Factum*, that they are actually so; affirming nothing of the *Title*, by which they are so. The *Omission* whereof, (it being so *expressly* and largely set forth in the *former Oath of Allegiance*) in this, is certainly a great Instance of the *tenderness* which the Composers thereof had for the known *Principles* of our *Reverend Fathers* and *Brethren*; and designed (probably) for the preventing of this very *Objection*, which they foresaw would with greatest Difficulty be removed out of the way of those Persons, whom they so much desired not to lay aside out of the *publick Settlement*, which their seasonable standing in the Breach which our common Adversaries had made in the Bulwarks of our *Religion*, *Liberties* and *Properties*, with their own great hazard, had given so great an Assistance to. But this *Caution* of theirs (as it unhappily falls out) hath not done what it was intended for. For it is still objected, That the same is done *implicitly*, by the very *Nature* of the *thing* required, which was, by the forbearing those *explicite words*, design'd to be avoided. For the *Swearing Allegiance* to *One*, denies it (in their Judgment) to all *Others*; and, by consequence, this Oath implies the *Renunciation* of the *former Oath*, wherein the *Right* of *K. J.* was asserted. To which I answer, that does not necessarily follow, if my *former Hypothesis* be true; [*That a meer actual Allegiance to another (which is all that this Oath obligeth us to) does not involve a Negation of the Person's Right who formerly had it; but only the Cessation of the Obligation thence arising, in the present Circumstances, to act on his behalf.*]

I shall close this *Paragraph*, with a *Note*, or two, out of the *Reverend Dr. Sanderson*, who in his Book relating to the *Case of the Engagement*, declares it as his Judgment, [*That where the words of a Promise may in fair Construction be capable of a double meaning, so as to be taken in one sense, they shall bind to more, and in another, to less; the Promiser may make his just advantage of the Ambiguity, and take it in the same sense which shall bind to the less. Because the Faith to be given, is intended to the behoof of him to whom it is given; and therefore it concerneth him to take care that his meaning be expressed in such words, as will sufficiently manifest the Sense to the Understanding of a reasonable Man. Which if he neglect to do, no Law of Equity, or Prudence, bindeth the Promiser, by an over-scrupulous Diligence, to lay a greater Obligation upon himself, than he needed to do.*] Wherefore, if *Allegiance*, in this *Oath*, may fairly signify either *rightful Allegiance*, or *actual Allegiance* only; if the words, *King and Queen*, may be interpreted in the same *Latitude*; though it should be supposed, that the *Imposers* intended to stretch them to the *more*; nothing hinders the *Swearer* from interpreting them to the *less* rigorous Sense. And so, this *Objection*, by his Judgment, will fall to the ground of it self; and need give our Brethren no trouble.

VI. [*That the Acts of Allegiance required by K. W. and Q. M. (of the Clergy at least, in particular) contain in them nothing but what they may lawfully do, during the ceasing Obligation of Obedience to K. J.*] For those *Acts* (according to the former *Distribution*) must be, either, *Bearing of Arms at their Command*, or *assisting the Forces they raise*, by *sending in Militia Soldiers*, or *Payment of Taxes imposed by them in the legal Methods*, or *Preaching or Praying for them*. Now, the first of these, [*bearing Arms in Person*] no Clergy-man (as was before said) can by Law be required to do; and therefore, they may be assured, that will not by their *Majesties* (who are engaged to govern by Law) be demanded of them. And, as to the [*furnishing out such of the standing Militia appointed by Law, as their Ecclesiastical or Temporal Revenues render them liable unto*] as the Law it self justifies him that, by *Command*, doth it; so doth it by *Penalties* enforce those that refuse so to do. And so, that *Assistance*, will come under the Consideration of the *third Particular*, [*the Payment of Taxes in form of Law imposed.*] And the *Payment* of such, may by the plenary *Possessor* of the *Throne*, be exacted from all Subjects, with all the *Penalties* incurred by refusing, in case any one deny them. So that, (besides the *Liberty* left any one to deny them, if he will run the hazard;) the quiet *Payment* of them amounts, indeed,

to no more (in a conscientious, as well as prudent Consideration) than the purchasing our own ease, and compounding for a *less Sum* out of our Estates, with those who may, upon refusal, enforce from us a *far greater*. And we had, somewhat above Forty years since, a Case of the same nature, (though with far less colour of Law than this at present) wherein the doing of this, was universally allowed by the *severest Assertors* of *Allegiance* to K. C. I. and II. and therefore thence (in Reason, I think) be now less disputable, (as to its lawfulness) to those, who have received the *strictest Principles* they argue from in the present Circumstances, from them; as will appear anon more largely in the handling of the Ninth Proposition.

And yet, withal, I conceive there is more to be said, for such *Payments now*, then at *that Time* there was; *Partly*, upon a *Military Account*; because the *end* for which the *Soldiery* are to be maintained (though it be true, that in *that War*, a dispossessed King was kept out of his Throne, as in *this*;) is far more justifiable *now*, than at *that time* it was. For those Arms were taken against a *Protestant Prince*, and upon false Imputations of his *Inclinations* to Popery only; whereas, in this case those Fears are really made good, both as to the *Person* and his *Designs*: And those great Concerns of our *Religion, Laws and Liberties*, were only then concluded to be in danger, from *remote Consequences* of some suspicious Acts; which are now *bare-facedly undermined*. And partly, upon a *Civil Account*. The Laws have *now* their *Free Course*; whereas, *then*, all Law was trampled on by the conquering Party, either by Military Force, or by Arbitrary Courts. Whence, it is but meet, that that *Law*, and the *Administrators* of it, should be maintained by all those who receive the Benefit and Advantage thereof. Nor is it, certainly, more inconsistent with the Obligations of any *former Allegiance* to pay for the Support of that Power that maintains me in my Right, than to *appeal* to its *Courts of Justice* for legal Relief against any that would deprive me thereof.

The next Particular, [*Preaching for them*,] as the Persons actually invested with Supreme Authority; can, (as required of us,) import no more than that which is our Duty at all Times by the *Apostles Rule*, Tit. 3. 1. The putting our People in mind to be subject to *Principalities and Powers*, and to obey *Magistrates*: That is, actively, or passively, to obey those *Laws*, with the actual Administration whereof they are intrusted by the actual Possession of that Supremacy whence they are derived. For as to the *Title* by which they hold that Supremacy,

Supremacy, as they will not allow us to maintain that of the *dispossessed Prince* in the *Pulpit*: So neither do they there require us to maintain their *own*. And it is well, this is not imposed upon us, for if it were, we might have some colour to reluct; seeing it is justly disputable, whether it were ever any part of our work, to *dispute the Titles of Princes* in the *Pulpit*, or (by *asserting* of them, in *divided Congregations*;) to occasion them to be disputed by others; whatever our private Judgment may be concerning them. For, if it were so, it is beyond all doubt to me, that our *Saviour* and his *Apostles* (or some one of them) would have left us such certain Measures, as might have governed our *own*, and enabled us to satisfy all other Mens Judgments, in the Resolution of such various Cases of Conscience, as on that account, must, in all Nations, be supposed ever and anon to be started, from the different Pretensions of *Competitors*.

Nor was it indeed, expedient, that our Lord should *clog* that Religion, which he was first to recommend to the World (universally prejudiced against it at that time upon other accounts) with such a *Doctrine*, as would have been more obnoxious to prejudice, than any of the rest: Such, indeed, as would (probably) have rendered all *Princes jealous* of the Progress of it; seeing it would have endangered the exposing all their *Titles* to the Disputes of its Professors, and rendered them determinable, according to the Issue of them. A Prejudice which he hath wisely prevented, by leaving his Followers some *general Rules* only, for their Deportment under such *Princes* and *Governours* as they found in *present Possession*; (who are the *ἐκκλῆσια*, Rom. 13. 2.) and thereby reconciled his *Doctrine* to the *Interests* of all actual Superiors, by what *Title* soever they hold their Authority.

Lastly, As to [*Praying for them*] it seems but reasonable, that seeing we cannot expect to lead *quiet and peaceable Lives in all Godliness and Honesty*, while they that are possessed of Authority over us, lead *unquiet and unpeaceable ones*; therefore, (that being the *means* by God directed, as most proper and effectual to that *end*;) I cannot see, how it can be rationally doubted, whether we may, (nay rather, it follows, in my Judgment, that we must) make *Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions, and giving of Thanks, for Kings, and all that are in Authority*, (and so, for their *Majesties*, at present) which may, through Divine Grace, enable them to promote that *end*. And accordingly the People of God anciently, made no scruple to pray even for the *Kings of Babylon*, who, by no other Claim then the Success of their *Arms*,

Arms, could pretend to Jurisdiction over them, *Ezra* 6. 12. *Jer.* 29. 7. And the *Primitive Christians*, (as *Tertullian*, who also gives us the heads of the *Petitions* they offered on their behalf, abundantly testifieth,) for these *Roman Emperors* whose Title was never a jot better; as will anon be more fully made to appear.

But I suppose, *praying for the King and Queen in being*, will, in general, be allowed by those with whom we have to deal; so long as the *Petitions* to be offered on their behalf, do not involve a *sense* prejudicial to the *right* or *safety* of the *Prince dispossessed*. But seeing the *Clergy of England*, in the publick Offices of *Liturgie* according to the *Forms* established, are obliged to pray exprelly for the present King and Queen, *that God will give them Victory over all their Enemies*] and that God will [*strengthen them, that they may vanquish and overcome all their Enemies,*] &c. which they suppose must necessarily involve an *Imprecation* against the *Prince* attempting to recover his Throne by War: it therefore appears to them, to be inconsistent with the *Allegiance* they have sworn to him to offer up these *Requests* (at least) for the *Princes Regnant*, who keep him out of Possession.

This, I confess, seems the most *difficult Objection* to be answered (supposing the *Principles* of our *Brethren* before-mentioned to be allowed them,) in this whole Dispute. Yet, it is not, in my opinion, incapable of a fair solution, from the very *design* and *proper Geni* of all enjoyned *Forms* of publick Devotion. For all such, are not necessarily to be so worded, as to suit the *private notions* and *sentiments* of every person who is to officiate or joyn in them, for this were impossib'le ever to be attained: but only to express the *sense of the Church* or any other Authority imposing them; under whom the publick *Administrator*, in the use of them, only lends a *mouth*, to assist the stated Devotion of the Congregation, wherein he officiates, according to their appointed measures. So, when in the *Form* for the *Burial of the Dead*, we seem to speak with confidence of *Gods taking to himself the Soul* of such an one *our Brother*, and profess our *certain hope of the Resurrection to Eternal Life*, with implication of the *parties share* therein, concerning whose eternal Estate it may be we are not personally satisfied: I take it to be a fair answer to the objection thence raised; That we only utter the *sense of the Church* on whose behalf we therein officiate; which, so long as the *Person deceased* at any Time dies in her *Communion*, does by us, dismiss him out of the World, with this *fair Testimony* of her universal *charity* to such as are members thereof. And it deserves upon this account, in my poor Judgment, to be enquired, whether such a *Form*, be not more expedient to be continued, notwith-

notwithstanding that supposed inconvenience ; than to expose all Ministers to a greater, by leaving them a liberty to make what *distinctions* they judge fit, betwixt neighbour and neighbour, according to their apprehensions concerning their Eternal Estate, by particular *distinct forms* accommodated to them. But this by the by. The *Prejudice* of some Persons also, who are disaffected to our *Litany*, against the *expressions*, wherein we pray for [*all that travel by Land or by Water*] and for [*all Women labouring with Child,*] and for [*all Prisoners and Captives,*] because, (as they weakly argue,) in these general words are comprehended *evil Spirits*, that *compass the Earth*; and *Pirats* from *Tunis or Algier* that *infest the Seas*, and *Women pregnant by Whoredom*; and *Felons*, and *Traytors laid up in Goal* for their *Crimes*, &c. This prejudice, I say, must be taken off by no other Answer than such as this, That these particulars, do not fall within the *design* of *publick Devotions*, according whereto *general expressions* must be understood, as they are intended, with relation only to such Persons as are supposed rationally to be included in the charity of the Church composing and enjoyning those Forms : in which *charity*, it is very uncharitably imagin'd, that *Devils*, and *Turkish Pirats*, and *Harlots*, and *Rogues*, and *Traitors*, are intentionally interested.

And by the same *Hypothesis*, proportionably must those *Prayers* for *Princes*, be interpreted. Certainly, when our *Reformers* at the first, composed those *Prayers* for the use of this Church ; they never intended to suit them exactly to all the *Circumstances* emerging in all the uncertain *Accidents* of *Government* : against which, because they could not certainly be foreseen, no humane Wisdom could certainly provide. But they had in *prospect* only, the *successive continuation* of *actual Governours* intrusted for the peace and safety of the Nation : for the preservation whereof, it is necessary to desire of God, that the *Forces* by which they must secure to us these great Blessings may be *actually Victorious* against all such as are *real Enemies* to that *community*; and therefore in general Terms they direct us so to *pray*. Now, to include a *particular Person* disputing the Right of the Crown, in this *general Petition* ; must suppose him to be an *actual Enemy* to this Nation either by a *wrong Title*, or an *evil Design*, or *both* : and whoever is *really* so, though he should be *included*, hath no wrong ; and if he be not so, it is inconsistent with the opinion we ought to have of the *charity* of our Church, to imagine him to be therein *included*.

It is, herein, farther observable, that these *clauses* are such, as hath been intimated before, as were not put in now *first*, in particular favour to their *present Majesties* : but are part of the same *Form* which hath been used for all their *Pred. cecessors*, since the *Reformation*. Nor is there any *Petition peculiar* to them, required of us to offer to God, which all *Princes* that shall sway this Scepter to all succeeding Generations are not alike entituled to : Now would our dissatisfied Brethren, think it fit to have a Precedent made for succeeding Ages, by the permitting such an omission in the publick Liturgy in favour to the pretensions of K. J. now ? For may not such an *Example* be urged, or is it not liable to be urged in some future competition after K. J. his death, (and who knows, what may be hereafter ?) upon the *Protestant Clergy* ; supposing any future *Prince Regnant* shall fall out to be of the *Romish Persuasion*, and engaged by arms to maintain his Possession, and keep out a more rightful *Protestant Competitor* ? Supposing then, the *same Petitions* still by *Law* to be continued in our publick *Liturgy*, under such Circumstances : can we think, it would look well, for the credit or safety of our Religion, if any considerable Part of our *Protestant Clergy* should make it a scruple of Conscience to use them in their publick Devotions out of favour to Him whose Title they judged the better ? Nay, let us bring the *Prospect* of such an *Event* in our thoughts a little nearer. Suppose (which was not impossible to have so fallen out) that K. J. had made the Throne vacant by Death, before his *Present Majesty* (then only *P. of Orange*) landed, and another *Popish Successor*, (by Conquest, or some other disputable way,) had filled it, before he could appear upon *English Ground* with his *Army* ; and had been as clearly and as long possessed of it, as his *Majesty* now hath been ; I ask, would it have passed for a fair *Plea*, for the denial of *Allegiance* to such a possessed *Prince*, that we could not in Conscience give it, because we should be obliged in our Liturgy to pray for *Victory* against the *excluded Prince*, and his *Army*, then ready to invade us, for the Defence of his *own*, and the *Princesses* Title ? Let us but soberly think, what would have been the Consequence of such a Principle in those Circumstances, and apply it to the present Case.

But to shew, farther, the fairness of my *Interpretation* of the said Petitions ; I will try, next, whether I cannot conclude the probability of it, from the very practice of those *Reverend Persons* themselves, with whom our present dispute lies. It is not long since, that the whole *Clergy* of this Land made their Prayers, in the same Terms for K. J. Now, it is hardly to be imagined, that any *Minister*, yea, or understanding

standing *Member* of this Church, could offer up these Requests mentioned for him, without great reluctancy in himself (especially in his later Days) but with some such, (and probably, in most of them the same) *restriction* or *limitation* supposed. For else, all that joyned in it, must be concluded, to have *prayed against* all the *Protestants Interest in the World*, (who, it is evident, were enemies against K. J. and his Religion,) if they should at any Time, in never so just a War, defend themselves against him by *Arms*. Such *Clergy-men* therefore (who were generally, all those of this Church) who then used this *General Form*, cannot fairly come off, from the suspicious *implication* thereof; but upon an *Hypothesis* of this nature, that those *Petitions* in that *Juncture* intended no more, then the *subduing* such *Enemies* of his, as together with the *destruction* of his *Person*, should at any Time design the *subversion* of his *Government* as *legally established*, or the *ruin* of this *Nation*, or some other of a like import. Let then, our *Reverend Brethren* allow the like supposal of *subtable restrictions* and *limitations* in the *present case*, to these *general expressions*; and they will not find it so difficult a matter, to reconcile themselves to the use of them on the behalf of their *present Majesties*, which they (with others) used so long without scruple for their *Predecessor*.

Lastly, To give a full confirmation to my *aforesaid supposition*, I think that *clause* in the last *Act of Uniformity* [*That in all those Prayers, Litanies and Collects, which do any way relate to the King, Queen or Royal Progeny, their Names be altered and changed from time to time, and fitted to the present occasion, (undoubtedly, they that made this Proviso, mean the circumstances of the King or Queen Regnant, after any change,) according to the direction of lawful Authority;]* does much conduce thereunto. It appears, that the same *Form* is to be used, by this *clause* still, whatever occasion requires the alteration of the *Names*: for the *Proviso* is only made for the alteration of these. Suppose then the *Throne* at any time vacant by death; and a *competition* arise concerning the *Succession*, where, during this *Composition*, is this *lawful Authority*, but in the *actual Successor*, who enters upon the void *Throne*, and is so far *possessed* of it, as to send forth his *Mandates* all through the *Nation*, to insert such *Names* as suit his circumstances? Whence, I further demand, Whether the *Clergy* may not, yea, whether they must not take such a *Mandate* as sufficient warrant, to use this *Form*, in the very passages under *Dispute*, with such *alterations*? And if so, then though the *Person excluded* in the *Competition*, should chance to have the *best Title* of the two; yet

the present Possessors command is valid against him; and the point in Dispute is evidently gained, *That the Clergy are (according to the Law it self) to be governed by the Prince Regnant, in the particularities of these Petitions :* and we may, and ought to offer them up for Him, and whom he Names, by Name, when required. But, (to put an end at last, to this long Section) and proceed. I say, Seventhly,

VII. [*That the Principles of Non-resistance and Passive Obedience, so far as (for ought I can see) they are owned by the Church of England, oblige us not, in our present circumstances, to deny the giving, or swearing Allegiance to K. W. and Q. M.]*

That they do not, may be fairly argued, from the want of sufficient proof, from those that say they do, taken out of any publick Monuments or Records extant, which legally include the whole Body of this Church, to that purpose. And by such indeed, and such only must all things, which are alledged to be the Doctrines of this Church, be proved to be so. For, if we admit any other Evidence in this matter; we shall have much ado to vindicate our Church, in many great Points in Controversie betwixt us and the Papists, together with our other Adversaries; who, from the writings of particular Doctors in it, charge it with many absurd and false Assertions. And therefore, it hath been always in such cases, the approved course of her learned Champions, to put the Adversaries upon proof, that those Doctrines which they charge on her, are her own, from her Articles, Homilies, Liturgy, &c. Let therefore, any of those that endeavour to fasten upon the Church of England, as her Doctrines, any of those high Notions concerning Non-resistance and Passive Obedience, which they pretend to have learned from her; first, State the Questions relating to them, according to their own Judgments: and then produce such Proofs of the full concurrence of this Church with them, out of those Books, or any other evidences of like nature; which must first be done, before they can rationally argue thence, the inconsistency of this Oath of Allegiance with them as such. And let none, (as some confident Authors of late have done) call the wild and extravagant Opinions of some singular designing and interested Divines, like themselves, accommodated to the gust of a Court-Faction, the Doctrines of this Church. A thing, wherein they have done their Mother very ill service, whiles (labouring to qualifie her pretended Principles to the humour of the disposers of those Preferments they fought for) they were not only themselves made meer Instruments and Tools of a Jesuitical Faction; but endangered also the the whole Church and Nation, by raising Prerogative so high, that when

when it fell into ill hands to manage it, they took encouragement thence to trample down our *Religion, Laws, and Liberties*; as supposing us all, a company of *tame Animals*, made only to bear whatever burdens they laid on us, and withal the occasion too insolently to reproach us with our *supposed Principles of Passivity*, whiles they gave us so many occasions to practise them: as *Julian* once made use of our Saviours true Doctrine of *not resisting evil*, in the very Instances whereby he explains it, in a proud *Scoff* to those whom he maliciously persecuted.

It is true, indeed, that in the *Declaration*, which the Parliament (at the Return of K. *Charles II.*) after their having been so long exasperated with the consequents of the War made with his *Father*, under colour of a *Parliamentary right* in the *Militia* of this Kingdom; (and pleaded for by those that defended their cause that opposed him, with an unusual novel Distinction, of *taking Arms by his Authority against his Person, and those that were commissioned by him*;) required all the *Clergy of England*, and all in publick Trust (for the greater security of the *restored King*, whom they thought then they could never do too much for) to condemn that *Position* as it had been taught, as *Traiterous and abominable*: and to profess for themselves that they held it *unlawful upon any Pretence whatsoever to take up Arms against the King and those that are Commissioned by him*: and therein, (as also in another *Act* concerning the *Militia*) declared their own Judgments in those Points more fully than had ever, by so publick a Body, been done before. But whether *Acts of Parliament* may be taken for sufficient *Expositions* of the *Doctrine* of this Church, all those who are unsatisfied in the matter of that *Declaration*, may possibly call in *Question*, and (for the most part) resolve it in the *Negative*. For my Part, I will do neither: but take it for what probably it was, the *Doctrine* of so many of the Church then represented in *Convocation* as were consulted in the drawing up that *Form*: and because the *whole Convocation* subscribed it, (at least, after the Law passed) as did also the generality of the *Clergy* after them, allow it to have been the *Judgment* of the *Church*, at that Time, in the sense wherein they that imposed it, understood it. But surely, neither the *Parliament* nor the *Clergy* in *Convocation*, ever intended thereby to give any *King of England* so uncontrollable a Power of breaking down all *banks of Law*, as to make the whole *Church* and *Nation* meer *Tenants at Will* to Him for their *Religion, Property, Liberties*, yea, and their very *Lives* themselves, and leave the Subject no legal Remedy against the most illegal Violences. They did there-

fore, undoubtedly mean by [*those that are Commissioned by the King*] those only that are *Commissioned as our Laws allow, and to such intents and purposes as may consist with them*. We cannot surely, imagine them to be so besotted, as to resign all those dear Interests at once into the Hands of a *Popish Army* raised on purpose to destroy and root them out altogether: which appears by what followed afterward, in a subsequent *Parliament*, where in the whole Estates there assembled perceiving that some ill-designing Persons took occasion from that *Declaration* to mount the Points of *Non-resistance*, and *Passive Obedience* to an extravagant height, (to which at last according to their Project, they arrived;) in hope, by a *Popish Successor* to bring about those evil ends: took a wise course to prevent the mischief by imposing such a *Test* upon all *Commissioned Officers*, as excluded all *Papists* from being in *Commission*; and if they should at any Time be so, declared their *Commissions void*, and all they did in pursuance of them *null*. That former *Parliamentary Doctrine*, (therefore) is expounded by this after-commentary upon it, from the *same Authority* which first expressly taught it.

But as to the proper Judgment of the *Church of England*, declared by themselves in any *Act* or *Record* extant, it is vain to seek for any resolution in this matter. They no where, (that I can learn) give us any Determination of theirs, concerning the *Titles to Crowns*, the extent of *Prerogative* in the *Prince*, the measures of that *Subjection* which *Allegiance* includes, nor concerning the extent of its obligation, or the change, which upon the various *Turns of Providence*, may, or may not, be made therein. Only, as to *Kings and Queens actually in Being*, they deny it at any time lawful to Rebel against them, whatever they personally are, or what Religion soever they are of, and by force of Arms to endeavour to dispossess and destroy them. Of such Doctrines as these all the *Homilies of Obedience*, and against wilful Rebellion, are full. And by these Doctrines, all *Princes* actually possessed of the Throne are alike secure, as to any danger, from the *Church of England*. So that as to the *Questions and Cases of Conscience*, which relate to our present *Circumstances*, it will prove an undertaking too hard, I suppose, for any Person to make the Doctrines of this Church concerning *Non-resistance*, to comply with that tame submission to an *unbounded Prerogative*, trampling, by unpresidented *Dispensations* all *Laws* underfoot, which some Men (as I before intimated) have of late vented under her Name. And I suppose also, that the most Reverend, the *Archbishop of Canterbury*, the *right Reverend Bishops*, with others of the *Reverend Clergy*, and the worthy *President and Fellows of Magdalen*

alen College, were not wanting to their Duty of *Non-resistance*, nor misunderstood the Doctrine of this Church, when they so notably pleaded their *Right in Law*, against the *Usurpations* of *Pro-rogation* to the utmost, and thereby, and by their *Sufferings* for it, stopped the career thereof from its triumphant Progress throughout the Nation, and as to what other *Resistance* hath since been made by a too *unreasonably provoked Nation*, together with the Consequents of it: How far, the *natural Duty of Self-preservation*, even by *Arms* against *outrageous illegal Violence*, and the *Reason of Government*, and *Subjection* in all *Political Societies* governed by *Laws*, together with the *fundamental Constitution* of this *Monarchy*, &c. pleaded on their behalf, will justify those that have had an hand in it, in such a case of *extream necessity*: I cannot find determinable from any publick Records of this Church. To be sure, it much concerns not our *dissatisfied Brethrens Case*; that it should be determined, seeing none of them have any way contributed to any such *Resistance* hitherto; and are not (as I think I have sufficiently evidenced above) endangered for the future, by any thing which this *Oath* obligeth them unto, to lose the Honour and Comfort of keeping the Doctrine of *Non-resistance* inviolate, to the utmost extent of it, as stated by themselves.

And, as to that of *Passive Obedience*; it can surely be no farther a Duty in this Case, than *Non-resistance* is: for this is the necessary consequent of that: whom I must in no sort *resist*, I must, consequently, *submit to suffer* under, in whatsoever he lays upon me: and on the other side, so far as I may *lawfully resist*, I am not bound to *suffer*. As in the Case of the *Great and Reverend Persons* but now mentioned; who took shelter in the *Law* so far as it would be allowed them, and then only *suffered*, when it would stand them in no farther stead. For otherwise, it seems too high a strain of *Passive Obedience*, and more than *Religion* or *Reason* requires, for any one patiently to quit the *Defence* which *God* and *Law* allow him, yea, and the very *Laws* themselves which allow them to him; that he may gain an Opportunity to exercise his *Patience* under *illegal Violence*: and to seek an occasion of undergoing those *Sufferings* a Mans self, which our *Saviour* himself allows him, if there be no other way open, at least, by *flight*, to escape.

Nay, I will go yet one step farther in this case; and allow the Parties, that under shelter of a *Royal Commission*, seek a Man's Destruction, to have, in some Juncture, all the strength of *Law* on their side; and withall, suppose him that is so endangered, to be,
by

by Providence, placed in these Circumstances, wherein he is for the present (though by an *unjust* and *illegal Force*) preserved from *persecuting Hands*. Let, therefore, Famous *London-Derry* be the designed *Scene* of a *Popish Persecution*; where a *Protestant*, by his *Habitation*, and the Obligation of his other Circumstances, resides: And is, by the making the City a *Garrison* (without his contributing thereunto in the least, that we may lay the case as wholly and intirely *Passive* as may be) safe, while he remains there. This Man is so far possessed with a Conscientious Principle of *Passive Obedience*, that (even in these Circumstances) he dares not take up *Arms* with the *Garrison* when *Beleagured* (as lately) to maintain the *Walls*, and therein, his own *House*, &c. against K. J. and his *French* and *Irish Army*, as thinking the *Defendants Rebels*, and the *Law* entirely on the *Besiegers* side. I would fain learn, now, whether in this Case, it be not lawful, (even for a Man so *Principled*) to accept of the *Protection*, which (without his seeking) his *Habitation* gives him; be the Hands which defend it what they will, even whatever K. J. himself would call them, may he not, for the present, exercise the more *Beneficial* sort of *Patience*, by suffering himself, though sore against his Inclination, to be *protected* (againg suffering more grievously by the *Popish Besiegers*, if they could get him into their hands) by the supposed *Rebel-Governour*, and his *Garrison*? If not, what is he obliged to do? Is there any, who will judge it to be his Duty, by the obligation of his Principle of *Passive Obedience*, to endeavour to raise a *Tumult* within against the *Governour*, or to *betray* that Power that illegally protects him, by entertaining *Spies* from the *Besiegers*, or sending them *Intelligence*? You will say (it may be) this is more than *Passive Obedience*, this is *Action* rather. But still, this is in order to the *Passivity* he thinks he owes the *Law*. Or is he (to take a shorter course to it) to *withdraw himself* out of his *Protection*, and deliver himself into the hands of the *Loyal Besiegers*? I confess, I should think (to the contrary) that he should rather thank God, and even *Rebels*, for his *Protection*, lye quiet under his shelter whilst he may; and content himself with his *dispositive Preparation* to undergo whatever may befall him with others, in case the *Garrison* come at last to be taken; and so expect the reward of his *Patience* from that God, whose *call* of unavoidable Providence, and no *Procurement* of his own, exposeth him to it.

But suppose, (after all this is said to weaken it) that our highest *Brethrens* Notion, concerning *Non-resistance* and *Passive Obedience*, should stand firm, in reference to K. J. and those *Commissioned by him*:
yet

yet am I still at a loss, how (according to a *Paper* lately Printed, containing the *Dying Declaration* of the *Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Chichester*) even that can rationally be improved, to the rendring the present *Oath of Allegiance* to *K. W. and Q. M.* unlawful. Seeing, upon the *Hypothesis* I have before laid, do, and I hope, sufficiently proved the *Allegiance* promised by it, includes nothing which (according to it) a Man, even of those Principles, may not lawfully pay: and binds him not to contribute more, to the hinderance of that Power from being Paramount, under which he thinks himself rather obliged to suffer than to obey this that protects him, then what may by *legal Process* be forced from him: And what Force in such Circumstances causeth, it doth withall excuse; as you will see more anon, when I have dispatched one *Proposition* more, which is this:

VIII. *That the Law of the Land, justifies the Subject in the Payment of his actual Allegiance to the actual Possessor of the Throne, though wrongfully, whilst he continues to be so possessed, though at the same time there be another rightful K. out of Possession.*] This, I confess, is not within my Province to prove so strongly and convincingly, as some learned Men of the long Robe have undertaken to do, and (most think) have done beyond Contradiction. Nor will I enlarge this Discourse to such a Bulk, as the *Transcription* of what hath been said by them to that purpose would swell it to: But I shall content my self with the bare mention of one Famous Statute (that of 11. Hen. 7.) which highly *Indemnifies* all Persons that assist the King in being (even with Arms) against him that is King de Jure. The reason whereof must needs be, that the *Makers* of that Statute looked on such Persons, either as *Innocent*, supposing them under a Force; or as doing their Duty, if voluntarily complying with the Divine Providence placing him on the Throne, while he sits there. This, in the next *Proposition*, I shall farther evince from *Practise*.

IX. [That the stoutest Assertors of the Principles of indispensable Allegiance, Non-resistance, and Passive Obedience, formerly have so far complied with the Supream Powers in actual Possession, as this Paper pleads for now; and been justified in so doing, by the most learned and judicious Casuists then living.] For, as to the Payment of Military Taxes to the Long Parliament, and the several Models of Government that succeeded or interloped with them in K. C. I. and K. C. II's time; appearing at their Bars on their Summons, compounding for their Estates at the Rates they imposed, Suing and being Sued in their

their *Courts*; *Addressing* to them, upon occasion, in the *Terms* they directed, and by the *Titles* they assumed; yea, and (more than all this) subscribing an *Engagement*, to be *true* and *Faithful* to them, that is, to pay them all that which we call *Allegiance*: Who is there that lived in those Times, who knows not, that the generality both of the Clergy and Laity, who went under the Name of *Cavaliers*, and high *Royalists*, did comply with the *prevaleant Faction* (by whatever Name they exercised the *Sovereign Authority*) some more, and some less, as their Circumstances obliged them, through all the Varieties of that Government? All which *Acts* are judged to be, in *themselves*, and in *ordinary Cases*, *Treasonable Acts*; and (by consequence) high Breaches of *Allegiance*; and were no way justifiable, but by the Words, or Reason (at least) of the *Statute* before mentioned. And yet he is a great *Stranger* in our *Israel*, who knows not also, that they were justified in so doing, by the Determinations of the ablest *Lawyers* and the most eminent *Casuits*; and especially (of the later sort) by the Writings of that incomparable Master in Theology, Dr. *Sanderfon*, afterwards (for his Loyal Service* in those times to his Majesty, K. C. II.) advanced to the Bishoprick of *Lincoln*. Now, these things they could not have done, (especially with the allowance of such Spiritual Guides,) had the *Principles* of the *Church of England* been then understood to be so rigorous in Matters of this Nature, as those of our present *dissatisfied Brethren*, in their *Casuistical Divinity*, are. The very *Engagement*, but now mentioned, which was then generally swallowed by those that would have taken it very ill to have been thought no true Sons of the *Church of England*, (and divers of whom, were notwithstanding, even when rigorous Conformity was at the highest, after the *Return* of K. C. II. thought worthy to be advanced to some of the most eminent *Bishopricks*, and other *Dignities* of the *Church of England*;) was thought then (by those that by it lost their Places, out of Conscience of their Duty to the King) to be *unlawful*, as being a *new Promise* of *Allegiance* to *Usurpers*: and if it were so, (as they apprehended) was certainly such an one, *with a witness*, (as we use to speak) in comparison of that which the *present Oath* requires. For the Obedience by this *Oath* required, is expressed by its proper *Name*, the *Notation* whereof imports a *limited legal Obedience* only; whereas the words [*True and Faithful*] in the *Engagement*, ran so large, as not to insinuate the least Intimation of any *legal Bounds* to the Duty promised. This is, to a *K. and Q.* that, to a *Commonwealth*; this, can only (at the worst) be supposed to be Injurious

to the Right of *one King* by transferring it to another: Whereas *that*, overthrew the *Throne* it self; and destroyed the *Right* of all *future Kings*, yea, and *Parliaments* too, by excluding out of the Government *them*, and the *whole House of Lords*. And, by consequence, it is probable, in an high Degree, that those who allowed and defended the *taking of that Engagement*, in the Circumstances of those Times, as not inconsistent with the Principles of this Church, would, if they were now alive, do no less, in favour of the *taking this Oath*; especially, by such as are of our Brethrens Principles, and so cannot be supposed to take it in the *more rigorous*, when the words will fairly bear a milder and more moderate Sense; which the said Dr. *Sanderson* allows to the takers of the *Engagement*, even though the *Imposers* intended it, (so long as they declared not that they did so) in another of a more *disputable nature*, and *higher Obligation*. And now, having dispatched this *Proposition* also, I proceed to the Tenth and last, which is,

X. [That the Primitive Christians, not only in our Saviours, and his Apostles days, (as had been made evident by many learned Pens;) but also, for several Ages after them, have governed themselves, in point of actual Allegiance, by these Measures.

That our Saviour and his Apostles did so; even when the Titles both of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Governors were either notoriously Faulty, or (at best) suspicious enough; is abundantly proved by the learned Pen of a reverend Bishop of this Church lately. And for the Christians of subsequent Ages, if what Tertullian says of them be true, [That throughout the Empire, the Christians were so numerous, that they filled the Cities, Isles, Castles, Camp, Senate, &c. to that Degree, that (as he tells the Persecutors) the very Secession or Departure of so many Persons from the Societies to which they belonged, into any place out of the Roman Territories (though they did nothing else to their prejudice) would have made a vast Solitude, such as would have endangered the Roman Empire.] Supposing (I say) this to be true; it is a great Evidence to me, that in all the Contests which then fell out (sometimes every other, or, at least, every third or fourth year, betwixt several Pretenders to the Imperial Throne, so that divers times the several Armies in several Provinces, set up Two or Three at once) the Christians, who inhabited those Provinces, did take the *Military Oath*, and pay their *Allegiance*, each of them to that Person who was invested with the *Imperial Robes* in the Parts where they severally lived, when once he assumed that Dignity; and did not trouble themselves to enquire whether any

Bishop of Sarum his Pastoral Letter.

that was set up in any other Province, had a *better Title*, than their own *Emperour* had. Which is that (as I conceive) which *Tertullian* elsewhere means, when he tells *Scapula* (the *Lieutenant* of the *Emperour*) who then lived in *Africa*, that none of the *Christians* were ever convicted to have been *Albinians*, or *Nigrians*, or *Cassians*; in all those *Turns* which fell out under those *Competitors* for the *Crown*, from whom their *Partisans* were so named. He means not, certainly, that none of them were in the *Garrisons* or *Armies* of *Claudius Albinus*, or *Pescennius Niger*, who struggled with the *Emperour Severus*; or of *Avidius Cassius*, who contested with the *Emperour Verus*; (for this had been contrary to what he asserted elsewhere, that they filled their *Garrisons* and *Armies*, as before;) but only, that they were none of the *Contrivers* or *Plotters* of those *Wars* which were by those *Competitors* set on foot; nor active *Sticklers* for the *Parties* then made; for those (says he) that were upon that account called *Albinians* and *Nigrians*, &c. were the Men of their own *Heathenish Religion*, that Swore by the *Genius* of their *Emperours*, which *Christians* refused to do. And when any of the several *Competitors* conquered, (though possibly, his *Right* were more disputable then that of the *Pretender* who was overcome; yet) they adhered even to him, when once settled upon the *Throne*. And for this, I think, I have evident proof, from the view of the *Emperours*, whose Cause *Tertullian* owns in that *Defence* of his but now quoted: especially one of them, (*Severus*) who raised the *Sixth Persecution* against the *Christians*. It is evident that *Tertullian* commends the carriage of the *Christians* in their *Obedience* to *Severus*, because he mentions *Pescennius Niger*, and *Claudius Albinus*, as the *Heads* of those *Factions*, which for opposing him were then odious to *Severus*; and denies the *Christians* to have been their *Partisans* against him. Whence it is plain, that they acquiesced in *Severus* his *Title*; although it be evident, that his *Title*, (till *Conquest* confirmed it) was the worst of two of his *Competitors*. For *Herodian* tells us, that immediately upon the *Death* of *Perinax*, *Julian* first, and then, *Pescennius Niger*, were chosen *Emperors*, and set in the *Throne* by their *Souldiers*, before *Severus* his *Title* was set on foot by his *Troops*. So that *Severus* himself was, while the *Contest* lasted, more truly a *Rebel* against *Niger*, then *Niger* against him. But whilst *Niger* delays and revels at *Antioch*, *Severus* coming to, and mastering *Rome*, the *Senate* confirmed him *Emperour*, and then all the *Christians* acquiesced in him, and became peaceably his good and loyal *Subjects*. Whence it appears plain, that the *Principle* of the *Christians* then was, That they were obliged to be *Subjects*

to whatever Prince God by his Providence had actually at any time placed on the Throne, though his Title were none of the best: At least, they made it not a Concern of theirs, whether it were so good as it should be.

And indeed, (to draw to an end of this Discourse) what should a Christian do, in dubious Circumstances, but determine his *Actual Allegiance*, by the *Issues of Divine Providence*? For, does the great Governour of the World take it for his *sole Prerogative*, to rule in the Kingdom of Men, and give it to whomsoever he will? to change times and Seasons, to remove Kings and set up Kings (in the places of those he removes) as in *Daniel* he affirms; and shall we Worms, say to him, what dost thou? Or, is it requisite, that he should be obliged to comply with our *various Opinions*, in making such Changes? or to tye himself to such limited *Methods* in the ways of bringing them about, as best suit our *Models* or supposed *legal Constitutions*? Where were then this his *Super-Sovereign Prerogative*, if so submitted for its *Regulation* to this or that *Party of Christians*, and not to be put in Execution, but where and when they please?

But, you will say, *Is Christianity then so flexible a Religion, as to be able to accommodate it self to all Turns and Changes?* This looks like a *safe Principle*, taken up rather from the Writings and Practices of some worldly Politicians, then from the *inflexible Rules of Divine Verity*.

It were, indeed, so, if *Christianity* had given us any such *inflexible Rule* in such Matters: or (seeing it hath not, as before you are told) taught us to change *Designs*, and *Interests*, and *Parties*, as oft as we see God by his Providence making way for the *change of Persons*; and in order thereto, as *Politicians* do, to forecast by *Humane Conjectures*, which is likely to be the *strongest side*, and then (without respect to *Honour*, *Honesty*, or *Conscience*) to accommodate our *Sails* before-hand to every *Wind* which our *Political Almanack* tells us is likely to blow; that we may, by our *forward appearing*, merit the more from those whom we oblige by our assistance in their Settlement. That *Compliance*, therefore, which I plead for, as *Christian*, is not of that Nature: It suffers *Gods Providence*, first, to determine, and then follows it: it is not *forward* in making, or assisting Changes, but only *submits* to them, or rather to *God in them*, when made to its hand. Nor is it hasty to strike in with the first (like those that strove to get in before others to the *Pool of Bethesda*) when those changes are made, as if it feared to lose the *Opportunity* of a Market for its advantage: but allows it self convenient time for due *Consi-*

deration, wherein, and to what Degree, the present Circumstances may be complied with, in consistence with the just Measures of Religion, the Rules of Decepcy, and the Security of a good Conscience towards God and towards Man. And then (so far as it may, with safety to all these, and not a jot farther) accommodates it self to the present State of Affairs; quietly acquiescing in the Events wherein God declares his *Providential Will*, though never so much against the Grain of a Man's own Inclinations or Interests. There is, indeed, a superior Degree of *Non-resistance* and *Passive Obedience* due to the *Almighty*, beyond all that can be challenged by any *Mortal* from us; and we must sit down under the shadow which he hath spread over us for our Protection; with great care, that no *Discontent* at personal Losses or Disappointments, or any other *unquiet Passion*, hurry us into any Designs or Actions, which may involve us in the Guilt of fighting against God, by striving to build up again, what he hath pulled down, or to pull down what he hath built.

And, in this case, when God providentially rejects a *Saul*; though *personal Affection*, and the *Hand* he himself formerly had, under God, in raising him to the *Throne*, and supporting him in it, may excuse an Holy *Samuel*, in the *condoling Resentment* he shewed at the Change, and the *compassionate Mourning* which he inwardly put on for the *unhappy Prince*: Yet, even *He*, must thenceforth look upon himself, as discharged from any farther (at least publick) owning his *Inclinations* towards him. And it is evident, he did so. For, otherwise, so great a *Courtier* as *Samuel* had been, through all *Saul's* former Reign, could hardly have dispensed with himself for the seeming Incivility of not so much as giving him one *Visit* from the Time when he received the notice of his Rejection from God, and (by his command) delivered the unwelcome Tidings thereof to him, till the day of his death. And even that *Humane Resentment*, which for a season is excusable in such a case, yet must be managed with great *Moderation*, and not lodge too long in his Bosom. For God himself takes him off from it at last, when he saw it excessive, with a Repri-mand. *How long* (saith he) wilt thou mourn for *Saul*, seeing I have rejected him? Now, if the bare antecedent notice from God to his *Prophet*, that he had sententially rejected *Saul* from the Kingdom whilst yet he continued in the *Land*, and actually exercised his *Regality* still, and for some years after) might lawfully so far lessen the Obligation of *Samuel's Allegiance*, as to warrant his absenting himself so long from Court, (which very withdrawing of his, could not, in so eminent and conspicuous a Person as he was, but argue a great Dislike,

Dislike, and therefore, in the Judgment of the common People, have a very ill Aspect upon the *Kings Affairs*;) it is not difficult to imagine how much farther he might have concluded himself discharged from it, in case *Saul* had, upon his Denunciation of his Rejection from God, and the change in the Countenances, and suspicious carriage of the chief of the People (plainly intimated, 1 *Sam.* 15. 30.) actually *withdrawn* himself out of his Kingdom; and from his native Subjects of *Israel*, retired to Nations in *Enmity* with them; (especially, if he had applied himself to the *Egyptians* their old Masters, and to the *Philistines*, their most spiteful *Borderers*, and therefore the most dreaded *Adversaries* they had,) and moreover solicited their *Assistance*, to restore and resettle him in his Dominions by *Conquest*.

I am not ignorant, that some Learned Men (and among the rest, *Peter Martyr*, particularly,) in this Case of *Saul*, conjecture that *Samuel*, went somewhat farther yet, in shewing his *Duty* to the rejected King, during this his retirement from Court, by his continuing to *pray for him* still. This is begged, I must needs say (with the leave of those learned Authors,) for it cannot be proved. But however, if granted, we must suppose it only done where he *mourned for him*, that is, in *private*. And for the *matter* of his *Prayers*; it could not be, *That God would restore him absolutely*, but only, *conditionally*, upon his *Repentance*: and so, as no considerable damage might accrew to *Gods Church* and People thereby. And, in such *secret Devotions*, and so *cautioned*, there is none, who will (I suppose) forbid any one, even now, to exercise the *Remains* of his former *Loyalty*, who thinks himself obliged so to do.

And, as far, to the utmost, as *Samuels Loyalty* is supposed by any one to have gone in *Sauls Case*: I doubt not, but *divers* (at least) of the *Reverend Persons* this Paper was in a great measure meant for, have followed his *Example*, in this present Juncture. They have, as long as *K. J.* was on the *Throne*, and exercised his *Regality*, born with divers harsh and uneasy encroachments of *Prerogative-Power*; and some in an eminent and exemplary degree, practised the *Passive Obedience* they taught, to the no small credit of our Church and its Loyal Principles; (and I am assured, upon my own knowledge, that not a few of their Brethren, both of the *Episcopal Character*, and of the *Inferiour Clergy*, (who in the present Case, differ from them) were ready, if like *occasion* had been offered, to have followed them in the *same steps*, wherein they led them by so good an Example: they have also (as most of the sacred Function have likewise done) kept them-

selves

selves within the bounds of *Non-resistance*, that is, free from contributing towards the *effecting* of that *great change* which God by unusual methods of astonishing Providence hath made: they have, (those of them, at least, whose high Stations gave them a considerable Influence upon publick Affairs,) conscientiously endeavoured, by their Counsels to hinder things from arriving to that *Extremity* to which they are now reduced: and since, (for 'tis no news, nor, I think, will they themselves think it a disparagement or disservice to them to have it here published) they have *sat down* under them, not only, with a *Samuel-like condolency* with the *dispossessed King*, but also, with some *uneasiness* to their own circumstances, under some publick *Acts* wherein they are dissatisfied: they have also *shewn* their *dissatisfactions*, by their *slowness* to comply with the present Establishment; even to the suffering a *suspension* from the Execution of their Ecclesiastical employments: and it may be, they do secretly *pray* for (what they wish, if it might be) the *retrieving* of things into a *state* more *suitable to their own Principles*; whiles God, by his Providence seems still to say *no*, to all such Desires, and attempts; except we will be content to purchase them (as matters now stand) upon such Terms, as (in all humane Reason) must be destructive to all that is *dear* to us and them too, both in our *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical Capacities*.

Now therefore, seeing (as I have already shewn) there can be no more *lawfully done* for him, whom Gods Providence hath thus *excluded*: I cannot imagine, what should farther influence our *Reverend Fathers*, and worthily esteemed *Brethren*, to adventure the exposing themselves to the *extremities* of the *Law*: and not rather exercise their *Passive Principles* (at least) under the *present Authority* (for surely, there is a kind of *Passivity* in it, when one *submits* to what he is not *pleased* with) which the *Primitive Christians*, and the most *Eminent Divines* of our Church too, in the days of K. Ch. I. and K. Ch. II. (by our preceding measures taken of them,) would certainly not have *stuck at*, in our case; by transferring that *Actual Allegiance* which they cannot pay *elsewhere*, to those to whom Divine Providence hath transferred the *Crown*.

I shall not here (as I told you at the beginning) to add farther strength to my Cause, urge the Arguments which many other Writers have chiefly insisted upon, (to reconcile our Brethrens Judgment thereto) from the *rationality* and *legality* of the Circumstances relating to the production of this great change. And yet I find myself strongly inclined (in the close of this Discourse) to offer *one*
(to

(to debate at least) from one of the often-mentioned Dr. *Sander-
son's* Principles : which if it prove sound, (and I have not yet met
with any one that hath attempted to overthrow it,) will, (for ought
I can yet see to the contrary) do much, toward the clearing them
in *both respects*. It is (in a word) this, Among the *other Cases*, where-
in the *Reverend Doctor* tells us, the obligation of a *Promissory Oath* ceas-
eth; he makes this one. [*When the state of things is so
altered betwixt the Time of a Mans taking such an Oath,
and that, wherein the performance is expected; that if such
a change could have been foreseen by the swearer, he would
have forborn to take it:*] to which I would add, [*or would, at least,
(if he could have apprehended it but possible, and much more, if likely to
fall out, beforehand) have made the falling out of what he so apprehend-
ed, an exprefs exception to the obligation thereof.*]

*Sanderſon De
Juramenti
obligatione.*

I muſt ingenuouſly confeſs, (with all due deference to the Judgment
of ſo profound a *Caſuiſt*) I think my ſelf not neceſſarily obliged to af-
ſert the verity of this *Hypotheſis*, univerſally, in all *Cases* that might be
put of this nature. And yet, I am apt to think, the *ſpecial Inſtance*
which he there gives, hath more in it, then will eaſily be diſproved,
in any *Caſe parallel* to it. The *Caſe* he puts is this. [*A Father ſwears
to his Son, that having by his avowed Will and Teſtament, bequeathed all
his Eſtate when he dyes, to him: he will never revoke that Deed. But in
ſome Time after, he finds by undoubted Evidence that this Son of his hath
attempted by Poyſon to deſtroy him.*] In this *Caſe*, (ſays the *Reverend
Doctor*) He may, (notwithstanding his former Oath to the contrary,) re-
ſcind that Will, and by a conſequent one, is at liberty to make a new and
different diſpoſal of that Eſtate.] The *Reason* of which *Determination*,
ſuits his preceeding *Thesis*: to wit, becauſe the *caſe* is now ſo altered
to the *Father*, that if he could have foreſeen it, he would never have taken
that Oath. For the *Father* ſwore it to a *Son*, a *Son*, then ſuppoſed to
be dutiful, and one from whom he expected the continuance of his
filial Duty (eſpecially he knowing himſelf to be ſo highly obliged to
continue ſo by ſo late a Demonſtration of his *Fatherly* kindneſs,)
until the day of his natural Death. And little could he imagine, (much
leſs foreknow, that his *Son* would ſo far deceive his expectation, as
to become in ſtead of a *Son*, an *Enemy*; in ſtead of a dutiful *Son*, a
mortal *Enemy* to ſuch a *Father*: in ſtead of one that would pati-
ently expect his natural Death, had endeavoured to haſten it, by
Violence.

Now, if the *Doctors* reſolution in this *Caſe*, be good, and ſolid:
it ſeems to be, no leſs, in the *Reverse* of it; that is, ſuppoſing the

Son

Son by a like Oath also obliged to the Father. Lay we the Case thus, with the due variation of circumstances. [The Son mentioned, upon his Fathers Oath so passed, not only to maintain him as his Son, while he lives; but also to leave him at his death, a fair Estate derived to him from his Ancestors, and entailed to him as his next Heir: and whatsoever of his own he hath by his industrious improvements added to it likewise: doth reciprocally engage (by Oath also) to his Father, to remain under his Government, and in his Family, and assist him in the preservation and utmost improvement of that Estate, while he lives: and in a word, to be deficient in no Duty, incumbent on him by virtue of that ne'ar relation, and obliging kindness. But the Father, after these mutual Engagements thus passed, (not provoked by any undutiful Demeanour of his Son, but out of an irregular affection unto some stranger, who hath insinuated himself into his favour by sordid flattery and false suggestions,) doth not only carry himself towards his Son, in a strange unfatherly and unnatural way of rigour, and useth him more like a slave, then a child; but also, (even openly, and barefacedly) attempts to disinherit him at his death, by cutting off the legal entail of those antient Lands from him; and (to make the injury more remediless) endeavours in his own life time, to possess that Person whom he hath entertained this new kindness for, of the whole Estate, by surrendering all his Deeds and Evidences relating to it, together with his own Person also, into his hands and absolute Power. So that now, the Son can no longer either perform the matter of his Oath to him, or, indeed, come at him, in the circumstances wherein he is, without inevitable danger of his own life, from the malicious attempts of his competitor, (too much encouraged in them also by his Father) whose Interest it is to destroy him, as the only Person from whom he expects, at the Fathers death, to be disturbed in his ill-gotten and unjust Possessions.] Now here, I would fain know, why (upon the Doctors Grounds) the Son, notwithstanding the obligation of natural Duty, though confirmed also by an Oath, may not think himself at liberty, (under such unexpected and surprising disappointments from his Fathers alteration towards him to such an high degree of unnatural and unjust dealing, which he no way foresaw, nor could foresee, when he made that Oath to him) and why he may not accept of the tendred Protection and assistance of some other near Relation, (or any one, indeed, who hath so great a kindness as to afford it him, and is able probably, to support him against such an outrageous Injury). both (as to the safety of his Person,) by removing into his Family, and also, (as to the Estate,) by strengthening him so far as lawfully he may, by all the assistance he can give, for the securing, (at least) of that Inheritance, (which is rightful-

ly his in the *Reversion*, and cannot legally be alienated from him,) even while his *unnatural Father* is yet *living*. Yea, why he may not, if demanded, (for the *security* of him, who adventures so far on his behalf, to create himself so great *Enmities*) also, give his generous *Protector* and *Guardian* the *utmost assurance* that he can require, (even that of an *Oath*, like that which he gave his *Father* himself,) concerning the performance of all that *Duty*, (whiles he thus continues under his *Roof*; and enjoys the benefit of his *Guardianship*, which had continued due to his *Father*, if he had continued a *Father* to him, to his *dying day*.

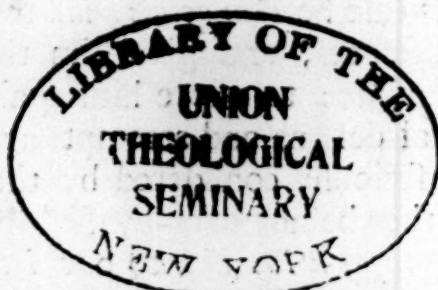
The Case, if I am not much mistaken, seems thus far, very fair on the *Sons* side: especially, if (in the mean while of the *necessary cessation*, of his *actual Duty* to his *Father*,) he perform no *positive Act* of *undutifulness* to him who hath so *disobliged* him, by way of *retaliation*: and be *dispositively ready* to return to all that duty again, which he formerly paid him, in case he *change his mind* towards him, *restore* him to his former *Circumstances*, and *give* him that *rational security* that in such a case is requisite; to *assure* him against any future *relaps* into the like *unnatural designs* and *attempts* against him.

Let now, *this Case* be seriously considered by those who are most dissatisfied, (provided, they be not over-byassed by contrary *Interests*,) as it makes too *unhappy a Parallel* to our *late and present Circumstances*: and I am in great hope, that they will (at least) see cause to *judge tenderly* concerning some *ambiguous actions* of those, who have by *extraordinary methods* (even against their *Inclinations*) hitherto *sacred to them* (yea to all of *us*, and our *Posterity after us* too) those *dear Enjoyments and Reversions*, which were lately even upon the *Point* of being *lost for ever*: if not also, farther, to *thank* that great *Deliverer*, whom God hath *gratiously* by *extraordinary Providence*, sent them and us: and *last* of all, to *give* him all that *legal security*, which he hath reason to expect; that whiles they sit safe under his *shadow*, they will not undermine the *Tree* from which it comes; but demean themselves with that *fidelity to him* which so great a *favour* deserves.

The obtaining of which *fair and reasonable things* (as till I am otherwise convinced I must judge them to be,) at the *hands* of our yet *unsatisfied Brethren*, is that which I have all along endeavoured in this *discourse*; which now I think it time to *end*, being afraid, that I have too long exercised my *Readers Patience* with its *prolixity*. But I must not dismiss it, without sending this short *Prayer* along with it. That God will vouchsafe to *speed* it with a *success* answerable to the *sincerity*

city of my Intentions therein; for the satisfaction of all those for whom it was designed, (whether exceptions Friends, or scrupulous Brethren, or prejudicated Enemies to the Cause I plead :) and make us all, either cordially unanimous in it; or (whiles we cannot be so) more charitable each to other, in our differences of Opinion, then (according to the unhappy Fate which amongst us in England, too commonly attends all Controversies) we are wont to be: That our common Enemies may not have the pleasure of seeing us do that by our own imprudent, unseasonable, and unchristian Divisions, which, without them, all the Intrigues of Hell it-self, in conjunction with the Designs and Arms of France, and its Adherents, (I hope in God) shall never be able to do.

Amen, and Amen.



FINIS.

